

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-12 TRSE-00

MBFR-03 SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-03 NSC-10 SS-15 IO-13 OMB-01

RSR-01 AF-10 /153 W

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R 121409Z JUL 73

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2536

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 07982

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, UK

SUBJECT: CSCE - BRITISH REACTION

1. FOREIGN SECRETARY SIR ALEC DOUGLAS-HOME MADE A STATEMENT ON JULY 9 IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE FIRST STAGE OF CSCE IN HELSINKI. SIR ALEC'S REPORT, WHICH IS QUOTED BELOW, LAID STRESS ON THAT PART OF HIS SPEECH AT HELSINKI WHICH HE THOUGHT MOST IMPORTANT, NAMELY, "ON THE NEED TO CHANGE FOR THE BETTER THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE FOR ORDINARY PEOPLE ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE".

2. TEXT OF SIR ALEC'S COMMONS STATEMENT: QUOTE: WITH YOUR PERMISSION, MR. SPEAKER, AND THAT OF THE HOUSE, I WISH TO MAKE A STATEMENT.

"AS THE HOUSE WILL BE AWARE, I REPRESENTED THE UNITED KINGDOM AT THE FIRST STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE ON

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SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE - CSCE - WHICH TOOK

PLACE IN HELSINKI FROM 3RD TO 7TH JULY.

"TWO IMPORTANT RESULTS WERE ACHIEVED. FIRST, THE FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PREPARATORY TALKS, WHICH BEGAN IN HELSINKI LAST NOVEMBER, WERE UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED. THIS MEANS THAT THERE IS AN AGREED BASIS FOR THE WORK OF THE SECOND STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE AT WHICH THE QUESTIONS OF SUBSTANCE WILL BE TACKLED. SECONDLY, IT WAS AGREED THAT THIS SECOND STAGE SHOULD OPEN IN GENEVA ON 18TH SEPTEMBER PRECEDED BY A MEETING OF THE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE STARTING THREE WEEKS EARLIER ON 29TH AUGUST.

"IN HELSINKI LAST WEEK THE REPRESENTATIVE OF EACH PARTICIPATING STATE WAS ABLE TO STATE HIS COUNTRY'S VIEWS ON QUESTIONS AFFECTING SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE. A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS TABLED SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR DISCUSSION AT THE SECOND STAGE. IN MY OWN SPEECH I SOUGHT TO PLACE THE EMPHASIS WHERE I BELIEVE IT BELONGS: ON THE NEED TO CHANGE FOR THE BETTER THE CONDITIONS OF LIFE FOR ORDINARY PEOPLE IN THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE. I AM PUTTING A COPY OF MY SPEECH IN THE LIBRARY OF THE HOUSE, TOGETHER WITH THE PROPOSALS WHICH I TABLED AND A COPY OF THE COMMUNIQUE ISSUED IN HELSINKI ON 7TH JULY. THE FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE PREPARATORY TALKS ARE ALREADY IN THE LIBRARY.

"I BELIEVE THE HOUSE WILL WELCOME THE FACT THAT PREPARATIONS CAN NOW GO AHEAD FOR THE NEXT PHASE OF THIS CONFERENCE, WHICH COULD WELL BE OF SUCH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO EUROPE, SINCE IT IS AT THIS SECOND STAGE THAT WE HOPE THAT RECOMMENDATIONS ON SPECIFIC PRACTICAL MEASURES CAN BE WORKED OUT AND AGREED. END QUOTE.

3. ON THE NEXT DAY (JULY 10) THE "FINANCIAL TIMES" RAN AN INTERESTING ARTICLE ON EASTERN EUROPEAN REACTION TO SIR ALEC'S SPEECH AT HELSINKI. ARTICLE STATES THAT FOREIGN SECRETARY'S FORTHRIGHT STATEMENT ON LIBERATING CONTACTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST CAUSED UNUSUALLY BITTER COMMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION. ACCORDING TO "FT", ONE SOVIET COMMENTATOR SAID THAT "BRITISH POLICYMAKERS WERE BENT ON ASSURING THEMSELVES A PLACE AT CONFIDENTIAL

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MADAME TUSSAUD'S AS THE LAST OF THE COLD WAR MOHICANS". "FT" ADDS THAT VOLUME OF EASTERN EUROPEAN COMMENT IS ATTRIBUTABLE TO UNITY AND DETERMINATION OF THE WEST TO ACHIEVE FREER MOVEMENT AND AN OPPOSING EASTERN DESIRE TO ALLOW ONLY CAREFULLY CONTROLLED LOWERING OF BARRIERS.

4. EASTERN EUROPEAN DIPLOMATS IN LONDON HAVE ECHOED FOREGOING THEME TO US, INSISTING THAT BRITISH ARE SOLE

HOLD-OUTS ON DETENTE AND HAVE BEEN THE MOST TROUBLESOME
ON CSCE. BRITISH OFFICIALS ARE NOT UNDULY SENSITIVE
ABOUT EASTERN EUROPEAN CRITICISM; THEY SEEM TO EXPECT IT.
THEY ARE, HOWEVER, PLEASED BY EXTREMELY FAVORABLE REAC-
TION OF BRITISH PRESS TO SIR ALEC'S SPEECH. TICKELL,
HEAD, FCO'S NATO DEPARTMENT, TOLD US THAT BRITISH ARE
ABSOLUTELY DETERMINED TO SEEK CONCRETE RESULTS FROM STAGE
TWO OF CSCE; "NO PIOUS RUBBISH" BUT SPECIFIC PROPOSALS
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IS THE BRITISH OBJECTIVE, TICKELL MADE CLEAR. IN SIMILAR
VEIN, FALL, OF FCO'S EASTERN EUROPEAN AND SOVIET DEPT
TOLD US THAT HE COULD SEE CSCE LASTING A VERY LONG TIME
UNLESS THE SOVIETS WERE WILLING TO COMPROMISE ON THEIR
RIGID POSITION ON FREER MOVEMENT ISSUES.

5. COMMENTING ON LAST WEEK'S PROCEEDINGS AT HELSINKI TICKELL OBSERVED THAT THE RUSSIANS HAD SHOWN THEMSELVES PATRONIZING, CYNICAL AND COERCIVE WHERE THEIR ALLIES WERE CONCERNED. RUSSIANS HAD IRRITATED SMALLER COUNTRIES BY THEIR ROUGH HANDLING OF MALTA'S PROPOSAL FOR TUNISIANS AND ALGERIANS TO PRESENT THEIR VIEWS TO THE CONFERENCE. IN THIS CONNECTION TICKELL SAID THAT DURING A SECOND BILATERAL BETWEEN SIR ALEC AND GROMYKO LATTER HAD SAID CAVALIERLY THAT CSCE RULES OF PROCEDURE DID NOT ALLOW THIRD COUNTRIES TO PRESENT THEIR VIEWS TO THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFERENCE; THEY COULD ONLY DO SO BY SPEAKING BILATERALLY TO THE 35 MEMBER COUNTRIES. BRITISH TAXED HIM ON THIS, CITING RULES 56 AND 57 WHICH HE DID NOT SEEM TO BE AWARE OF. TICKELL ADDED THAT MAITHESE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT THEY INTEND TO RETURN TO THE CHARGE ON THE OPENING OF STAGE TWO, AND BRITISH FORESEE MORE TROUBLE AHEAD ON ISSU OF MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES COMMUNICATING VIEWS TO CONFERENCE. BOTH TICKELL AND FALL NOTED THAT WHILE BRITISH FOUND US DELEGATION AT HELSINKI LAST WEEK COOPERATIVE AS USUAL, THEY WERE STRUCK BY LOW KEY POSTURE AMERICANS ADOPTED; THEY HOPED US WOULD BE MORE ACTIVE IN GENEVA.

6. COMMENT: THAT BRITISH ARE DETERMINED TO TRY TO WRING AS MUCH FROM THE EAST AT STAGE TWO OF CSCE AS POSSIBLE IS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR. THEIR ATTITUDE IS PROBABLY NOT TACTICAL BUT SPRINGS FROM FEELING THAT WESTERN UNITY AT MPT AND SUPPORT OF NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED OFFER SOME PROSPECT OF DRIVING HARD BARGAIN WITH SOVIETS. IT IS ALSO UNDOUBTEDLY RELATED TO PERSISTENT BRITISH CONCERN THAT OUTCOME OF CSCE SHOULD TO EXTENT POSSIBLE NOT CONTRIBUTE TO FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY AND INHIBIT LONGER-TERM BRITISH AIM OF INCREASING WESTERN EUROPEAN COOPERATION IN DEFENSE FIELD.

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